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kuklux klan

THE KU KLUX KLAN COMES TO MANITOBA.

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History : 733

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February, 1974.

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Introduction.

The newly-formed social and fraternal circle fashioned during the evening of December 24, 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee became, within months of its founding, an organization whose name became synonymous with terror, intimidation, and dark secrecy. Conversely, and at the same moment in history, this rapidly expanding group was being mantled with a golden and romantic legend which forever identified it to white Southerners as perhaps the noblest group of cavaliers in history. Embodying this antithesis was the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan's raison d'être was the 'righting' of society in the Reconstruction South. White supremacy was the cornerstone of the Klan.

With the demise of Reconstruction governments in the defeated Confederate states, political and financial control came once again under the domination of the old Southern aristocracy. This was accompanied by a heavy clamp down on the civil liberties of Blacks. The Klan was now free to formally disband. Whether all den units ceased existence or merely became quiescent is a subject of much controversy. Time, however, and a good deal of romantic and laudatory fiction, gilded the myths of the great saviour Klan, benevolent defender of the white 'race' and chivalrous protector of white Southern womanhood. It was perhaps inevitable that someone should want to "cash in" on the legend.

In Atlanta, Georgia on a cold Thanksgiving night in November of 1915 such portents as a flaming cross on Stone Mountain, the pronouncements of a new Imperial Wizard and a small group of shivering Klansmen heralded a new Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan. Not only was the president and founder --Imperial Wizard Simmons-- the son of a former Klansman, but with him on the mountain that night were three or four 'heroes' of the old Klan. Although one comes across much writing to the contrary, it seems clear that not only did the revived Klan hope to mine old Klan traditions for memberships, but that a perpetuation of the methods and spirit of the Reconstruction Klan was assumed. Why else was the first degree in the ritual of the resurgent Klan "an extravagant eulogy of the old Klan." 1.

It was this revived Klan, reorganized in 1920 to put it on a sound marketable basis, that spread its propaganda and activities not only through every part of the U.S.A., but aimed to insinuate itself throughout the 'racially superior' Aryan-

Nordic-Anglo-Saxon world. The 1920's marked the Klan's greatest power and opportunity. Amid overwhelming evidence of the enormity of its crimes and the cynicism and greed of its leaders, the Klan gathered in an estimated five million members at its height in the States while raking in some \$75 million. It was this Klan of the 1920's which made inroads into communities across Canada from 1921 until well into the 1930's. Some claim it never totally died out.

The unsavoury reputation it had acquired during the '20's, the Depression, World War II and the Klan's open association with the German-American Fascist-Nazi groups, particularly in 1940, caused such rapid exit of Klansmen that, in 1944, the Klan was again disbanded in the U.S.A. and ceased to exist as a national organization.

The Klan has never abandoned its promotion of white supremacy, and each new effort within the U.S.A. to see that Blacks obtain equality of civil rights has caused a resurgence of Klan activity, although many of its organizations no longer bear the stigmatized K.K.K. name. Not until the 1970's, however, was a concerted nation-wide recruiting campaign again launched, both within the U.S.A. and across the Dominion of Canada. To date the drive seems less than successful.

There is no simple answer to the Klan's appeal during the decade of the 1920's, for it strove always to adapt its propaganda and methods to the individual communities it entered and to any local political situation it hoped to exploit. Concomitantly there is no simple explanation as to why Canadians joined an organization already notorious and in disarray by the time of its largest recruitment here. One thing is certain, despite the grasping opportunism of its greatest salesmen, the rank-and-file Klansman was in the main a respected and patriotic citizen, sincere in purpose if mistaken in method and spirit. Why was he enticed to join? The reasons seem as myriad and complex as the numbers of Klansmen themselves. Any analysis of Klan methods and propaganda, and of the social milieu and compulsions of the majority of Klansmen can at best be synthesized generalities.

The 'Old' Klan.

Christmas Eve 1865 was the birth-date of a new Order embodying 'chivalry, humanity, mercy and patriotism.' Six young Southern gentlemen, former Confederate officers restive in the depressed aftermath of lost battles, hit upon the idea of a fraternal organization spiced with zany costumes, weird names, novel rituals and imaginative high-jinks. Its name -- Ku Klux from the Greek Kuklos meaning band or circle, and Klan, a seemingly natural alliterative addition given the Scottish descent of all six founders. They cloaked their activities in mystery and secrecy, chose an appealing name, held meetings in the spooky ruins of a deserted house, rode about at night hooded and robed on horses muffled and blanketed in disguise, and altogether proved wonderfully attention getting.

The nightly antics in ghostly disguise, often with a local graveyard as the staging area, had an immediate and unforeseen result. Black freedmen were frightened. Colourful stories of the buffoonery of 'the ghosts of the Confederate dead' became almost a hall-mark of the first days of the Klan. On late night rounds to negroes' homes some Klansman would ask hoarsely for a drink. When the water bucket was brought out he would raise it to his lips and drain it -- through a funnel inside his mask leading to a container concealed under his robes. "That's the first drink I've had since I was killed at the Battle of Shiloh; and you get mighty thirsty down in Hell," he would say. 2. Or, in the manner of the Headless Horseman of Sleepy Hollow a Klansman would set a masked round object atop his own hooded head and, taking it off, ask some negro to hold his head for him. Another favourite was to insist on shaking hands, and, under cover of darkness of course, hold out the carved skeleton of a hand. Advocates of the Klan's rôle in the South dwell on the superstitious terror aroused in the negroes by such experiences. This ignores the efficiency of the rural 'grape-vine.' It seems highly unlikely that many freedmen were long deceived as to the underlying purpose of the continuing visitations. For their fear was more genuinely of the intimidation and threats implied by the unwonted appearance of the ghostly riders. After all, how many freedmen had horses ?

Disfranchised and impoverished Southerners seized on the mysterious new Order to establish vigilance committees acting as regulators in a disordered Southern society. Enfranchisement of the Blacks, their aspirations to education, a higher standard of living, and their organization into Loyal Leagues was a terrifying spectacle to white Southerners who lived in constant dread of a negro uprising. Bands of silent horsemen began establishing their own methods of law and order during unexpected nighttime visits.

Uppity, disrespectful, or prospering Blacks; Northern schoolteachers intent not only on educating Black children but treating them as equal citizens; carpetbag landowners, office seekers, etc.; and 'renegade' Southern whites were prime targets of the Klan's extralegal methods of reasserting and re-establishing the traditional rôle of white Southern gentlemen as leaders and arbiters of Southern society. There was no strong central authority in the Klan, however, and it soon became apparent that the reputation of, and the methods employed by individual dens were only as good as their local leaders. Alarmed at growing reports of violence and bloodshed, the distinguished gentlemen who led the Klan sought to impose controls.

Accordingly, in April 1867 a meeting was called in Nashville for purposes of giving the K.K.K. an official constitution and for formulating uniform policies, purposes and plans for action. However, oath-bound secrecy of membership and the anonymity of masked and robed disguises proved too great a temptation for lawless spirits playing out their self-imposed duty as avengers against undesirable whites and blacks. Tales of vengeance, crime and terror proliferated — all laid at the door of the Ku Klux Klan. Following a preliminary Senate investigation into Klan activities, President Grant in March of 1871 sent a message to Congress suggesting the need of federal legislation to alleviate the situation.

A Federal Ku Klux Act was passed and a Joint Select Committee began an investigation into the doings in the South. Mass arrests of Klansmen followed. This closely paralleled the return of Southern state governments to the hands of their former white masters. With the 'old' white families once more in firm control of Southern society, Southern gentlemen no longer needed the aid of Klan tactics. The Order began a rapid disintegration. Late in January, 1869, General Nathan Bedford Forrest, Grand Wizard of the Invisible Empire, ordered the disbandment of the Klan together with the destruction of all Klan documents and regalia. No formal edict to this effect was apparently ever handed down through the ranks to each individual den, however, and evidence indicates that not only did some dens continue operations for at least a year after this supposed dissolution, but that Grand Wizard Forrest was himself quietly occupied with Klan business for some time after this date.

What seems to emerge is that the organization was told to cease all active functioning and to destroy all evidence of its existence wherever it was judged that the work of re-establishing white Southern supremacy was suitably concluded.

Klansmen were told not to reassemble or reactivate their groups in any way until signalled to do so by their Grand Cyclops or some higher authority. This appears consistent with the Klansmen's oath which bound him till death, even should he be expelled from the Klan or voluntarily leave it.³ The Klan oath also bound a Knight to complete secrecy upon penalty of death, but surely a defunct organization could not have compelled the silence which met inquirers even some 40 years later.

The Klan had been catapulted into prominence because of the upheaval and disarray in Southern society following their defeat in the Civil War. Deprived of their traditional place in society, the former white rulers of the South sought remedy to their confusion and fright at the proposed changes in their world by resorting to extra-legal methods to reassert their ascendancy. Large numbers of ex-Confederate officers and men were enlisted and Dens were run along military lines with a roster of officers and a body of men who theoretically gave instant and silent obedience to the commands of their leaders. Their aim was white supremacy and most Klansmen and women believed implicitly in 'white racial superiority' and the upholding of 'racial purity.' To this end they also stressed the protection of white Southern womanhood (remember all those war widows and defenceless, fatherless children) and provided charity to many a widowed family. To the benevolent and gallant knights' way of thinking, any force they used was justified in rectifying the intolerable (to them) conditions imposed under Reconstruction.

The Rise of a New Invisible Empire.

During the years after 1870 much newsprint was to bear the markings of the Klan. Exposés might be followed by romantic maunderings, denunciations, and denials. But always the myths of the 'Saviour Klan' grew, enshrined in the legends and histories of the South. And then in 1915 a new film was based on Thomas Dixon's maudlin and quixotic tale — A Clansman. Birth of a Nation, the U.S.A.'s first great epic motion picture, was an outstanding success. The Southern whites' version of the Reconstruction story had triumphed and continues to do so to this day. For what 'Northern' version of those days can compare to the abiding popularity of the film and fiction of Gone With The Wind, or the novels of a Frances Parkinson Keyes?

The success of the film sent forth a new wave of sympathy for these valiant

Knights of the Klan. 1915 seemed an auspicious year for the real Klan to reappear. At least, this is what one young man of grandiose plans decided.

William Joseph Simmons had had a chequered career previous to styling himself Imperial Wizard of the Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan. Among other ventures a former and unsuccessful Methodist preacher and an inveterate joiner of fraternal societies, Simmons was "a pure 100 per cent American, 6ft. 2 in. in height, proud of his crop of rich auburn hair. 'No negro blood in red hair,' he is fond of saying." 4.

The fraternal appeal of the Ku Klux Klan underwent some revamping at Simmons' hands. A Kloran now spelled out the secret ritual of initiation, baptism, etc. The flag, the open Bible, and the services of a chaplain, symbols of the patriot and the Protestant, were of particular significance in the staging of meetings. The inner mysteries of Klan meetings were guarded by figures of new and fearsome names. In reality it was the old Klan with a bit of rejuvenation to fit changing times. Its aims could still be summed up as white supremacy and white racial purity.

Although in 1915 the U.S.A. had not yet entered World War I, the production of war materials in the industrial North had created a labour shortage. Here was a new chance for the Blacks. Southern whites saw only that Blacks were once again becoming unmanageable. This was reason enough for the revival of the Klan. Memberships in the Klan became neither large in numbers nor spread much beyond the South before war's end, however, for U.S. entry into the War diverted energies elsewhere.

Gearing a nation for war and then not only dismantling the industrial and propaganda war machines but re-locating vast armies of workers and troops causes massive social and doctrinal disruption. Black labourers and soldiers no longer 'knew their place,' middle-class women were demanding the rights of first-class citizens, veterans' sights of war and of far-off places had broken the mind-blinkering bonds and social constraints of rural America, workers wanted a better deal, and everywhere the distrust and suspicions aroused by the propaganda mills of war were rampant. Fears and panics, disillusionment and unrest were the reapings of war. While the basis for great creative and reform movements, such societal upheaval also spawns harsh reactionary currents led by traditionalists hoping to remould society in the image that was.

Even with the mounting apprehension over attitudes harboured by negro servicemen, the proclaimers of 'white supremacy' failed to swell Klan ranks noticeably. But there were plenty of other popular causes to be exploited. And so in 1920 Simmons engaged the help of Edward Young Clarke and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler to launch a nation-wide sales campaign for the Klan and to set up an efficient organization. These two were a super-efficient team of salesmen--organizers who had worked together before. 1920 marked the real beginnings of the massive enlistments, far-flung organization and great power of the Klan of the 1920's.

The old Klan had welcomed all Southern whites of good social standing, whether Protestant, Jew or Catholic. In this respect the modern Klan was to present a new phase of white supremacy - that of a Protestant world united against fellow Catholics, Jews, Mormons, 'Reds', anarchists, atheists, Orientals, and many others. The Klan sold its version of Protestantism, patriotism, and acceptable memberships as "true 100 per cent Americanism." Catholics, Jews, Negroes, organized labour, 'aliens', minorities, etc. were placed beyond this élite kinship and were regarded as less than equal citizens if not with outright distrust. As the Klan spearheaded its thrust into every part of the nation, exciting new possibilities were found in a rallying cry portraying the Klan as guardians of law and order and moral righteousness. The Klan was out to "clean up" America by persuading all 'undesirable' elements to conform to its manners and morals and ways of thinking. Its message was one of hate, bigotry, self-righteousness, super-patriotism, militant Protestantism, Christian charity, and fraternal fellowship. And inextricably enmeshed in the movement was the dark undercurrent of an understanding that the Klan's work would be secretly and silently assisted by 'strong arm' extra-legal tactics.

Memberships and money came pouring in to Klan coffers. As the order grew in size and strength it began to exert its power and influence in the political arena. Senators, Congressmen, judges, police, and a host of major and minor officials became part of the Klan machine's drive for the controls of power. In its peak year in 1924 Klan memberships were estimated at from four and one-half to six million with some \$ 75 million being paid into the organization -- much of it directly assigned to organizers' pockets.

But tales of intimidation and crime and cynical and greedy organizers grew until the nation was confronted with inescapable evidence of mass whippings, tarring and featherings, mutilations, tortures, hangings, burnings at the stake,

and grisly murders such as that involving two young men at Mer Rouge, Louisiana. Within the Klan itself a power struggle for leadership led to the wresting of the lucrative powers of control from Simmons. (He'd grown a little too fond of expensive liquors while Klan salesmen backed prohibition.) While Simmons retained prestige as founder of the Empire, Dr. Hiram W. Evans held power as Imperial Wizard by February of 1924. Indiscretions by Tyler and Clarke had made public headlines and they were sent packing. D.C. Stephenson, Grand Dragon of the powerful Indiana and Ohio Klans, a self-indulgent ladies' man, had an acquaintance abducted aboard a train. The abused young lady died of poisoning shortly thereafter. Facing charges ranging from assault to murder, Stephenson, in 1925, was sentenced to life in prison. Throughout the nation anti-Klan forces began to rally behind Federal forces to drive this violent and divisive group from the halls of power and the 'Main Streets' and back lanes of America. Tales of corruption, cruelty, and vengeance grew apace as a stream of Klansmen were haled before the courts of justice. Faced with incontrovertible proof of Klan outrages and excesses, the ranks rapidly thinned. As the decade waned, so did the power of the Klan.

The Klan mushroomed in a post-war atmosphere of intolerance, fear, and social upheaval. Returning war veterans did not at once shed propaganda-inspired doctrines related to the Allied cause nor their combat training whereby the end had justified the means. Agriculture, industry, and all manner of business had suddenly to realign sales and production to peacetime demands. Economic depression, labour unrest, a 'Red' scare, armies of unemployed, a movement to jettison old values and social morés, and a general malaise and disenchantment disturbed the land.

To the ardent patriot without a cause, to the unemployed busybodies who had kept watch on their neighbours' activities, to the returned soldier dissatisfied with a return to routine daily rounds, to the descendants of the first white colonial settlers fearful of losing in political power and social influence, and to politicians looking for a solid voting block, the Klan offered a crusade and a power base. A virtue was made of conforming to the morés and values of a mythical bygone era whereby honest toil, clean-living, and fundamental puritan beliefs had made America a land of opportunity for the free and the brave (white Anglo-Celtic Protestants, that is). The message was negative, ethno-centric, and, given the aims of the K.K.K. organizers, cynically unrealistic. Instead of creating a great union of white Protestant America, the Klan served up a fetid potion of hate,

vengeance, and violence. Catholics weren't going to abandon their faith, labour give up its fight for better treatment, Blacks quit American shores, bootleggers and 'fancy' ladies do more than find new haunts, etc. just because of the fulminations and self-imposed vigilance of the Klan.

As the economic depression lifted and people carved out new peacetime careers the 'Red' scare, the 'Oriental' menace, the threat of Rome's power, the demands of organized labour and other Klan targets all took on saner proportions. The increasingly unpalatable lawlessness of Klansmen acting without legal sanction and the dissension and public scandal in top Klan circles awakened many a sincere Klansman to the folly of blind obedience when he knew not where he was being led (or why he was being taken?). This is not to infer that he rejected the Klan because of a new tolerance, or a diminished commitment to white Protestant supremacy and 'racial' purity, or to his country. The Klan image was tarnished and in bad odour, its greatest Christian charity evidenced in the comfortable lifestyle of the Klan hierarchy. Den after den dissolved until only a hard core of 'die-hards' bore the Ku Klux name.

The Klan Goes International.

The efficient and ambitious organizers employed by the Invisible Empire in 1920 aimed at making the Klan an international brotherhood of white Aryan-Nordic-Anglo-Celtic Protestants. Concurrent with the unprecedented drive within the U.S.A. was a concerted effort to set up branches of the Klan throughout the British Commonwealth and Protestant Europe. Sporadic mention of the results of their campaign has been found.

In August of 1923 The New York Times reported that in Auckland, New Zealand a Klan branch of nearly 1000 members had formed "to combat Asiatic labor and traders." ⁵ And on the same page we find a report of Klan activity in Mexico City. There a newspaper director had been kidnapped by the Klan and released only upon promise of news coverage (that is, free publicity) about the K.K.K. In such a manner were Klansmen "enforcing justice, since Government police were inactive." ⁶

The One Big Union Bulletin declared in 1923 that as early as 1921 the K.K.K. had formed a secret society in England known as "The Most Noble Order of Crusaders." It had recently been capturing news headlines with its claims at having " 'cleaned up' certain London clubs of doubtful character," and at having " 'prevailed upon'

certain war profiteers to abandon gambling for high stakes in their country homes." The Order had also just held "a meeting in Westminster Abbey at which the Duke of York, second son of the king, was in attendance." ⁷ Years later, in 1928, we find the subject of the Klan being touched on in the British House of Commons "when Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Foreign Secretary, was asked whether he was aware that the Klan was planning a crusade in England." ⁸

In an article entitled The Ku Klux Klan in Germany, presented in 1925, The Living Age informed its readers of the sensation caused in Germany and Austria by the discovery of a K.K.K. branch in Berlin, in operation since January of 1925. Organized by three Americans and originally financed with American money, the Klan had since passed into German hands and was controlled by "a German Fascist Wotan." Membership numbered from 350 to 400 and was comprised mainly of "merchants, mechanics, clerks, and laborers. . . organized along the lines of the American body." ⁹ And in 1928 we have a report from Berlin that an American-style Klan had been set up in Lithuania "with the avowed purpose of undermining the work of the Catholic Church." ¹⁰

Lewis and Harold Scott, father and son, of Saskatchewan Klan notoriety, were reported to have headed for Australia to aid in organizing Klan work there. ¹¹

Klanada?

The organization of the Ku Klux Klan of Kanada was part of this international movement. Klan organizers were busily selling their wares across the Dominion by 1921 and the story of this Klan movement in Canada was to continue well into the late '30's. Not until the opening years of the '70's did the Klan again capture the attention of newswriters across the nation.

Canadian journalists seemed non too happy at the prospect of entertaining Klan salesmen within their borders. The welcome mat was not out. Writers' tactics varied. From their news desks some thundered and threatened, others poked fun at the Klan, while still others painstakingly explained why the K.K.K. would make no headway here. Such unfriendly notices first began to appear in Canadian papers in 1921. But Klan organizers had already staked out the nation and were hard at work.

In the autumn of 1921 the editor of the Farmer's Advocate and Home Journal warned his readers against the K.K.K. and gave them his opinion as to the nasty

fate it deserved. The message was brief and to the point:

It is a secret organization, and specializes in midnight terrorism.
It draws to its banners all kinds of crooks, law-breakers and degenerates.
It ought to be stamped on as one would stamp on a rattlesnake — and
will be wherever it shows its ugly head." 12.

The Literary Digest lectured the Klan on the historical traditions which set Canada apart from the U.S.A.; traditions which purportedly would never give support to the Klan. Full play was given to the great Canadian myths of a people imbued with the principles of British justice and fair play, staunchly upholding law and order and, as a result of the long accommodation between French and English, Catholic and Protestant, a people possessing statesman-like wisdom and tolerance regarding issues of 'race', colour, and creed. Summing up this line of reasoning, the article concludes:

Canadianism stands for full political and religious rights, free from terrorism or ostracism. Ku Klux Klanism stands for a blighting curse inspired by hate and fed by prejudice, bigotry and religious fanaticism." 13.

No comment was needed as the One Big Union Bulletin caught the eye of Kollege Kids with this bit of satire. Under the heading Kurrikulum of the Ku Klux Klan Kollege, Valparaiso, Kindiana all sorts of enticing studies were offered. Let us sample a few. If Science interests you, you may establish "the proofs that Adam and Eve were white, protestant, native born Americans..." Now add a little Bibleology for "evidence that Moses was an I.W.W., who slew the foreman of a brick factory and hid the body in the sand." And don't miss the fun to be had in Chemistry -- "an examination in the relation between tar and feathers and their application in the dark of the moon." Or a study of Ethics may be just the thing: "Night courses only. Do unto others as they would do unto you, but do them first so that they can not do unto you what you have done unto them." 14.

Under guise of commenting about Klan activities in the U.S.A., the editor of the Manitoba Free Press presented some interestingly ambivalent observations on the K.K.K. Thus he writes:

The ostensible purposes for which its members are bound together are high and praiseworthy [but] . . . in the pursuit of objects which are really good in themselves is too ready to resort to unduly drastic methods and lacks the patience and self-control that are necessary in dealing wisely with social and national problems. . . . One would have thought that the educative effect of an open and active propagation of the principles of their movement would . . . have appealed to the leaders as of much greater permanent value than the methods of secrecy and force which have been followed. . . . Until it changes its ways it will merit the increasing condemnation that is being laid upon it. 15.

While warning the Klan that he opposes their methods, the editor at the same time approves their purposes and instructs the Klan on how to win acceptance. While the newspaper never wavered in its fight against the Klan, we have here possibly a true reflection of the feelings of many Manitobans.

Some time later the same paper issued a forthright warning that "any move to establish extreme or forcible klan customs here would be severely stepped on." The message was dressed up with a bit of descriptive ink, as for example:

The Knights of the Facial Diaper are due to be more cross than fiery if they attempt anything in this vicinity. . . . If a person wants to act "koo koo" and gallivant about the country dressed up in a bed tick and a pillow slip, that is entirely his funeral. 16.

And the Winnipeg Mirror summed the situation up thus: "Night Shirts may once more be the vogue in Winnipeg. We have received a circular illustrated with a picture of a K.K.K. Knight in a Knightshirt. . . .It seems an obviously wonderful opportunity for laundrymen!" 17.

The Manitoba Kampaign.

There was no dearth of information on the Klan in Manitoba's leading newspapers. Potential Klansmen would have little reason to plead ignorance of the true nature of the organization. The Manitoba Free Press and the Free Press Prairie Farmer in particular carried a steady stream of articles and editorials on the Klan. Every major report on violence, dissension in the Klan hierarchy, public scandal, etc. to hit U.S. papers was duly recorded on the pages of the Manitoba Free Press. Write-ups on Klan activity within Canadian borders were to be found there also, as well as intermittently in such publications as the One Big Union Bulletin, La Liberté, The Winnipeg Mirror and The Weekly News. When the Manitoba Free Press started its series of exposés on the Klan in Manitoba from 1928 on it is left alone to the field, with only the occasional newspaper here and there throughout the province briefly recording a Klan appearance in its vicinity. This is the piecemeal record that supplies the main body of information on the Klan in Manitoba, a movement intimately related to the movement in Canada as a whole, and to its parent body in the U.S.A.

The founders of the Canadian movement were veteran Klan Kleagles and Klokards who had crossed the border from the U.S.A. Their numbers were soon augmented by persuasive Canadian recruiters and speakers sympathetic to Klan ideals and

not unwilling to line their pockets with their share of the 'take' from membership fees.

One early recruit who avidly spread the Klan message for many years and did much to aid in adapting the Klan's message to Canadian conditions was J.J. Maloney. A former Roman Catholic who had been asked to leave the Catholic college he had been attending in Kitchener, Ontario, Maloney in the early '20's took up the cause of Protestantism and the Orange Order and commenced a series of speaking engagements around Ontario. Maloney's main theme was a 'discussion' of Roman Catholicism and 'explanations' of the differences between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. He probably didn't have to alter a word to make his diatribes fit in with the Klan's version of anti-Catholicism. Later in the '20's, his prose polished and his convictions unaltered, Maloney would spread his message across the Prairies for the Klan.

The anti-Catholic stance of the Ku Klux Klan, only one of its many themes in the U.S.A. where Catholics were a definite minority, was to take on outsized proportions in Canada where French Roman Catholic --English Protestant relations were a particularly sensitive issue. In hopes of gaining the favour of ultra-Protestant extremists, this is where the Klan first struck.

In late 1922 fire destroyed an estimated \$ 7,000,000 or more worth of Roman Catholic Church property. Fires at such places as St. Anne de Beaupré, the University of Montreal, St. Boniface College, and the Quebec Basilica were blamed on the Klan. Evidence was wanting, but not indications. Notices such as that received by St. Michael's Roman Catholic Church and the headquarters of the Knights of Columbus at St. Lambert, Quebec, threatening their destruction by the "K.K.K." did nothing to alleviate suspicion. ^{18.} And then one morning in June, 1926, the citizens of Barrie, Ontario awoke to the startling news that Klansmen had tried to dynamite their local St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church at the midnight hour. The Klansmen were no more successful in that than in removing all incriminating evidence. Three Klan culprits were speedily brought to trial and all the interesting details of their misadventure given thorough airing in court and news headlines. It was the first case of irrefutable evidence of Klan designs to destroy Catholic property. The church was repaired, the dynamiter sent to Kingston penitentiary for five years after which he was to be deported to Ireland, and the Barrie Klan Cyclops and Secretary given four and three year terms respectively at Kingston. ^{19.} End of excitement.

The Spectator carried news in March of 1923 that a Mr. W.L. Higgett, a Klan organizer who had been checking on Klan progress across Canada, was claiming that "the Klan had already been established in the Western Provinces." Can we detect how Klansmen were fashioning their appeal to Canadians? Apparently the Klan was making "a special attempt to draw closer the bonds between the two great English-speaking nations in North America." A quotation follows which embodies, according to Mr. Higgett, the Klan's goal as preached to Canadians. His words are:

Our idea is a sort of confederacy at present. That does not necessarily mean your separation from the British Empire, but a more definite alliance between the two great English-speaking countries on this continent. We have a definite programme in view that will be of the greatest benefit to all. Confederacy would prohibit the dumping of European emigrants on this continent, would absolutely forbid a further influx of Orientals, and would establish a mandate over Mexico. 20.

Such grandiose plans meant acquiring great power and the reins of power in Canada were still very much in the hands of British Anglo-Celtic immigrants and their offspring and the descendants of the United Empire Loyalists. Both groups were staunchly pro-British and the latter at least maintained a continuing tradition of anti-Americanism. The 'goal' sounds like lightly disguised 'Manifest Destiny' -- a sure way to rouse Canadian ire (Toronto, perhaps, excepted?). If this message really was the central core of the Klan's campaign across the country, Klansmen hadn't far to look for their less than spectacular success. It may, however, have been organizers from this early wave of recruiters who helped found the first lodges in Manitoba, for there has been a report that the Klan was holding meetings in Brandon by early 1923, and Winnipeg had undoubtedly been called upon as well.

Autumn of 1923 brought word of a determined Klan effort in Winnipeg. As was their wont, K.K.K. organizers had been calling on the city's moneyed and/or influential business and political leaders, apparently with some success. Subsequently, a meeting was held in the new Marlborough Hotel during the last week in September. Klansmen were proposing a new "Civic Association" to rouse more citizen interest in civic affairs and provide the city with "better government."

The editor of the One Big Union Bulletin, in providing us with this episode, added his own scornful opinions of the whole proceedings which he interpreted as just another way for the capitalist class to keep the workers in subjection.

But let us look at the Klan objects as outlined at that meeting by a Winnipeg citizen who was an appointed K.C.: The objects were:

- 1- To bring into one organization citizens from all parts of the city, thereby enabling them to co-operate in promoting its welfare through united counsel and effort.
- 2- To induce all citizens to take an active and continued interest in civic affairs.
- 3- To keep constantly in touch with the administration of civic affairs, and to provide accurate information on civic matters.
- 4- To impress upon every citizen the duty of exercising his or her franchise, and to actively promote such exercise.
- 5- To aid in securing efficient and economical civic administration.
- 6- To endorse and support suitable candidates for civic office, irrespective of any divergent views on matters of public policy and, if deemed necessary, to urge the acceptance of nomination by men or women worthy of public confidence.
- 7- To oppose any and all individuals, or groups of individuals, who persist in preaching and teaching to children and others, class hatreds or any doctrine of political philosophy, such as the so-called Karl Marx Socialism, Communism, Bolshevism, or Soviet rule, calculated to undermine and destroy our present democratic form of government.

21.

The first six objects sound admirable, but given the Klan's record in politics the entire programme takes on a hypocritical tinge, no matter the sincerity of the Winnipeegers on the platform. One of the Klan's foremost tenets was a strong anti-organized labour stand. And remembering the definite 'Red' tint which the Citizens' Committee, among others, had tried to apply to organized labour, we can better understand the One Big Union Bulletin editor's wrath at clause #7. To him, this was just another attempt by the 'better citizens' to brand labour with all sorts of unpatriotic and undemocratic names. A Professor from Winnipeg who gave a speech in support of the aims of the proposed new association was scored by the editor as being less than intellectually honest.

By the fall of 1924 the Klan was at it again -- organizing a recruiting drive, that is. Whatever happened to the "Civic Association" and its advocates? This time an organizer from Oklahoma, a Mr. Bellamy, was leading the drive and giving out optimistic pronouncements. To wit: ". . .In Winnipeg, a large number of influential citizens have expressed their approval of the objects of the society, and, of course, will become members."

22.

It is the moral decline and disregard for law that has given occasion for the rise of the Ku Klux Klan. Mr. Booth-Clibborn . . . described their [the K.K.K.'s] scriptural status as follows: "the Holy Spirit is not only using the church to hinder the breaking loose of the period of lawlessness, and the revelation of the Anti-christ prophesied in scripture, but the spirit of God is overruling all movements among the masses in these last days and is using the Ku Klux to put a check upon the powerful forces of anarchy, lawlessness and revolution." 25.

This was the beginning of the casting of a new clean image for the Klan. Featuring Klansmen as morally upright, God-fearing supporters of British law and order, it was a patriotic, Christian appeal many wanted to believe in. Why a Salvation Army spokesman? Remember that the Klan advertised itself as a great "Christian, benevolent, and fraternal" association. This great evangelistic Salvation Army had come to epitomize Protestantism's charity to society's poor and unfortunate. As a result a seeming endorsement of the Klan by the Salvation Army, and a reciprocal support of the Salvation Army by the Klan, would lend great weight to the Klan's claim, at least as judged by potential lodgemen. The reasons for this Salvation Army support were undoubtedly complex. The Canadian Klan's increasing propaganda in support of British traditions and the British connexion doubtless pleased this London-based Army. Then too the para-military organization of the Klan may well have struck a sympathetic note with the semimilitary structure of the 'Salvation' officers and soldiers. Add to this an interest in British supremacy and Protestant fundamentalism and you may come up with an amalgam explaining not only what attracted this particular Salvation Army leader to the Klan, but why many a British Protestant thought the Klan principles worthy of support.

In 1925 the Klan made its first official appearance in Ontario. It requested a charter for the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Canada and the Hidden Knights of the Midnight Sun of Canada. 26. R.L. Cowan (Imperial Wizard), C. Lewis Fowler (Imperial Kligrapp), and Dr. J.H. Hawkins (Imperial Klaliff) led this organization. This was an ambitious group who hoped to spread their network across the Dominion. Manitoba was on their list when they sent out recruiters. "Fowler wrote optimistically to Hawkins on Feb. 18, 1925 that 'Colonel Machin has done some good work in Manitoba. He will get a Charter there also after Parliament adjourns April 1st.'" 27. This was not to be, however, and the "good work" seems to have suddenly ceased as Colonel H.A.C. Machin moved his base of operations to Kenora, Ontario, within two months of Fowler's letter." 28.

The One Big Union Bulletin editor found nothing strange in Mr. Bellamy's claim. Referring particularly to the 1919 strike, this same editor found that "The exploits of the members of the Citizens' Committee, Special Police, etc., savors considerably of the exploits of the 'riders of the plains,' and provided with pillow slips and nightshirts, these Winnipeg citizens . . . would in an incredible short space of time be full fledged, competent Klansmen. . . . There is no reason whatever why the Klan should not come to Winnipeg — and be eminently successful." 23.

A few months later friend editor was, while not exactly ruing his words, at least owning up to being "really surprised that it has taken so long to establish the Klan in this country." He was so sure all "the Canadian Babbitts" would have wished to emulate the Klan's "deeds of valor." 24.

Obviously, the Klan was as yet not on its way to power and glory in Winnipeg. But the O.B.U.B. editor remained optimistic.

A lot of rethinking and reorganizing had evidently gone into the new version of the Klan which appeared on the Canadian scene in 1925. Someone had been doing his homework on the tactics and appeals which might stir the attitudes and prejudices of white Canadian Protestants enough to make them part with the substantial \$ 13 membership fee. Highly organized and operating with well-seasoned salesmen and highly sophisticated platform orators (looking for green fields as the U.S. Klan tottered), it was to be this Canadian-based group's operations which would rally untold thousands of Canadians to the Klan's banner.

The next Klan episode in Winnipeg may well belong to this phase of operations. According to our O.B.U.B. editor, it was Rev. William Booth-Clibborn, grandson of the celebrated founder of the Salvation Army, who next backed the Klan with his influence and prestige. For six weeks from late January through February of 1925 he conducted packed evangelistic meetings for the Salvation Army in the city of Winnipeg. Quoting from the "Free Press," the O.B.U.B. editorial related that on a Sunday afternoon in mid-February "before a crowded house in the Walker theatre," Evangelist William E. Booth "delivered an address on the 'Ku Klux Klan, eight million strong, and their relation to the second coming of Christ.'" Some excerpts from this speech may be of interest. The speaker declared that:

1925 was a propitious year for the Klan to start a new Canadian-oriented drive. The long post-war economic recession was lifting. Prices were better for farm produce and rural villages and towns were enjoying a return to more prosperous times. While large numbers of people still occupied the land, there was increasing migration to the urban centres. The 1926 Quinquennial Census estimates the Manitoba population of 639,056 as being divided into 360,861—rural and 278,195 --urban. ²⁹. Manitoba had been settled mainly in group patterns with definite Franco-Manitobain settlements, land blocks for the Mennonites, the Anglo-Celtic British and 'old' Ontario stock predominantly in the South-Central and South-Western regions, and so on. Population pressures and movement and the passing of pioneer days had made the pattern less than rigid. Some communities weren't too happy with the 'outsiders' who came into their midst. Cities such as Winnipeg had their own problems. Job competition, the anonymity and routine of daily work, and the great game of social 'one-upmanship' over other ethnic and religious groups added to the tensions of urban living. In numerous fraternal and beneficent societies men, both rural and urban, found a social outlet and a solidarity in the fellowship of like-thinking companions.

By the end of December, 1925, the Klan had finally established a branch in Winnipeg which may have endured for some time. The Weekly News notes that this group had "a membership of one hundred," The editor cuttingly agreed that this was "quite possible. There are doubtless that number of ivoried domes in the city, and that number of arrant cowards." ³⁰.

In February of 1926 the editor of The Winnipeg Mirror told of circulars being distributed soliciting memberships for the Klan from anyone who was "a White, a Gentile, a Protestant, eighteen years of age or over, and engaged in a legitimate vocation." ³¹.

The Klan in Ontario had been busy exercising the courts on charges such as assault, church dynamiting, and blackmail. It is not overly surprising then that the next report from Manitoba should record a bit of Klan mischief.

From the news pages of La Liberté we learn that threats of death or acts of violence had been telephoned to several Winnipeg aldermen and a number of other prominent citizens. Alderman J. Blumberg had turned in the latest report to the police, saying that he had been awakened at an early hour and

told that according to the K.K.K., he must be eliminated. An hour later a doctor rang his doorbell, declaring that he had been told to come to the Blumberg residence as something serious had happened. S. Hart Green, a criminal lawyer, was warned that he had only two days to live. Aldermen J. McDiarmid and Barry also reported to the police that they had received threatening telephone calls. 32.

Just what the reasons were for this activity remains obscure. Possibly the Klan conceived it to be part of their anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, "clean-up" civic government campaign.

A few days later the Winnipeg Mirror published a letter from J.J. Maloney who said he had gone to Saskatchewan in February, 1926 "to participate in the Prince Albert by-election." From his pen flowed a mélange of vitriol purporting to teach his readers about the devious and disloyal methods of the "Dunning Machine" and about that part of the press which supported Dunning's election. In reality, the letter was a slanderous attack on the Liberal party and the German-Canadians on the Prairies. Maloney intimated that the Liberal party was less than loyal to Britain and that it [citing Dunning] "depends to a great extent on that part of the electorate which is animated by anything but pure Canadian motives." In support of his charges he set up a sampling of opinion from Saskatchewan's German communities. Needless to say, it was complimentary to neither German-Canadians nor Liberals. His campaign against the supporting press was set in terms of control of this press by "men in whose veins flows German blood, . . . persons who were your enemies in your greatest crisis. . . ." He went on: "Thus, people of Canada, while the crimson blood of Canada's best was being spilt on Flander's Fields, some of those who helped to spill it in an indirect way were growing fat and waxing strong in Saskatchewan." 33.

This sort of propaganda wouldn't endear the Klan to German-Canadians, but it was a message with a powerful appeal to British and 'Allied' sections of the community. War veterans and other British 'patriots', and all those identifying strongly with British traditions and the 'Allied' cause would identify with such sentiments. The less than 'pure Canadian' motives slur cast at the Liberal party would conjure up the pro-American tag attached to this party as well as the party's appeal to 'alien' immigrants. This was a direct appeal to Conservatives in addition to playing upon certain Canadian prejudices not greatly abated since war's end (as for example, the feeling roused by some Canadiens' resistance to conscription). We sense the Klan zeroing in on its target.

Back in Toronto new plans were afoot. In November, 1926, Lewis A. Scott, a Kleagle brought in from the U.S.A. was sent, along with his son Harold, to Saskatchewan to set up a more dynamic organization there. They in turn recruited a seasoned veteran of Klan campaigns from South Bend, Indiana — Hugh F. "Pat" Emmons. These three set about organizing a Realm of Klans which they boasted totalled over 40,000 members within a year — this out of a population of approximately 3/4 of a million people in a Saskatchewan largely rural in population.

Manitoba soon felt the encroachments of this active group as Klan "missionaries" extended their rounds to take in Manitoba points. D.C. Grant, recruited by Hawkins in Moose Jaw, was one such missionary who soon showed up in Brandon.

On June 7, 1927 the Klan in Saskatchewan held a public rally said to have drawn an audience of 7,000 to 8,000. Klansmen from Manitoba were reported in attendance. 34.

All was not well in the Saskatchewan klan, however. Despite soaring memberships bringing in fees of ten dollars per initiation, three dollars for the first three months and 50 cents a month thereafter (for women it was half this), Klan promises of charitable donations, projects to benefit the community, etc. were not going ahead. And the top Klansmen kept putting off applying for Charters for their new organizations. Strangely enough there didn't seem to be sufficient funds to cover such expenses. The Scotts and Emmons, seeing the growing uneasiness within the ranks, made one last sweep across the province and then vanished. On September 18, 1927, an astounded Realm discovered they'd been fleeced of an estimated \$ 100,000 or more.

The story of the great Klan con-artists in Saskatchewan was added to news pages across the nation right up alongside the seemingly endless stream of stories of acts of Klan depravity and violence committed in the U.S.A. Enemies of the Klan were surely delighted. Within Saskatchewan many a Klansman quietly destroyed all evidence of his Klan connections and chalked up his lost \$ 13 to experience. Despite Klan propaganda to the contrary, observers have commented that the Klan in Saskatchewan never recovered from this blow. 35.

The court cases which resulted when Emmons was brought back from South Bend, Indiana to answer charges of misappropriation of funds kept the aftermath of this scandal before the public eye well into the summer of 1928. (Incidentally, Emmons proved that he and the Scotts hadn't illegally absconded with the money

since they had authorization from the Imperial Wizard in Toronto to keep all the money they collected, with only certain Klan expenses to be deducted.)

Saskatchewan Klansmen who still had faith that the K.K.K. was a worthy organization, held a convention at Moose Jaw on October 26, 1927. According to the new Imperial Wizard, J.W. Rosborough,

the delegates decided to form a separate organisation, elect their own officers, and carry on the work of the Klan, without considering affiliation with any other body. Under this arrangement organisation work is being carried on under the direction of the Imperial executive of the order and every organiser and lecturer is on a straight salary basis plus expenses. 36.

This reorganized Saskatchewan Klan would seem to have gained the greatest measure of success accorded to any Klan movement coming into Manitoba. D.C. Grant, C.H. Puckering, D.H.C. Wright, and Dr. J.H. Hawkins were but several of the skilled salesmen now circulating across the Manitoba-Saskatchewan border. 1928 — the most prosperous year of the decade on the prairies, produced a widespread Klan network in Manitoba.

A notice in the Virden newspaper on April 24, 1928 advertised a "Public Meeting under the auspices of the Ku Klux Klan" to be held the following Sunday. 37.

Dr. Hawkins appeared on the platform that spring afternoon. The opening of the meeting was staged with what seemed standard Klan ritual. From a stage "decorated with the Union Jack" Hawkins led "the National Anthem, followed by a recital of the Lord's Prayer." The right patriotic and Christian notes had been struck. At the opening of the address Hawkins hit out against the federal Liberal government and Catholics. "Then he dealt at length with the principles and objects of the Klan" and "proved conclusively that there is real work for Klan members right in Canada." The press was scored for its unfavourable reception of the Klan, making it "practically impossible to secure a fair hearing." Next Hawkins emphasized the Canadian Klan's claim of having "no connection whatever" with the U.S. Klan and ended by stressing the strong British allegiance of the Klan in Canada. 38.

Here we have a glimpse of the type of message thought appropriate to attract members in a corner of the province peopled mainly by Anglo-Celtic descendants of 'old' Ontario and the British Isles. However there was only a small crowd in attendance at the meeting, indicating that the majority of the community weren't even very curious about the Klan or one of its most attractive

speakers. The Virden paper carried no further reports on this organizational attempt.

An observer for the Manitoba Free Press noted in late May of 1928 that in the western part of the province "the Klan is going strong." This reporter made some other interesting observations. For instance, he commented on the "possibilities that the train crew . . . if it lives in the west of Manitoba, belongs to the organization." This propensity for railway divisional points to be centres of Klan activity crops up again and again in Klan literature. No explanation for the phenomenon seems readily available except that train travel was very popular and railway centres would have been excellent places for establishing communications networks. Our observer also notes that in "Brandon, Souris, and parts west" the Klan was not organized on Saskatchewan Klan lines. It is possible that they were affiliated with the Toronto-based Klan or a group working north across the U.S. border, as all three groups were active in Manitoba at this time. Whoever the organizing officials were, the observer was informed that they were collecting fees "so that the organizer collects practically all he gets and puts it in his pocket." 39. This, of course, is in direct contravention of the statement issued by Imperial Wizard Rosborough as quoted on page 21.

Brandon now presents us with a notice of Klan activity. There the spectacular blazing of a cross "at the highest point of the north hill" attracted scores of spectators. Possibly it was the scene of an initiation (or a show of patriotism) as well as being a great attention-drawing device for the Klan. "About 300 Klansmen" were there for "a short ceremony," including members "from Rapid City, Hartney and Souris." 40.

While organizers were stumping the countryside for memberships the 'good work' was going forward in Winnipeg. D. Carlyle Grant, the man who became the chief organizer for the Saskatchewan Klan in Manitoba, held a meeting on June 1st "in the Royal Templars hall, Young street." To judge from the news report his speech consisted mainly of "strong criticism against the Roman Catholic and Jewish faiths." 41.

Our next tale of Klansmen in Manitoba is set in Souris. The following information is quoted from a little red book of Souris stories:

"In 1928 an organization was formed in Souris which provoked great curiosity and some speculation in the town. Little is known concerning this group and it was not thought to be in existence long -- possibly a year or two. In June of that year the following communication appeared in the Souris Plaindealer.

TO THE CITIZENS OF SOURIS:—

There are a number of people maliciously slandering the Klan. These people are ignorant of what they are speaking. If they would attend our next open meeting they might change their views. If you are a God-fearing, law-abiding citizen you have nothing to fear from the Klan, they are here to protect you and yours, not harm you. But if you are living without the laws of God or man, beware. The Klan knows all. It cannot be bought or bribed. Justice will be meted out without fear or favor. Watch for the next open meeting, then join them and help make this and every town and city a brighter, better place to live in, free from all vice.

God give us Men.

K.K.K.

42.

Souris citizens standing on Crescent Avenue one night that year were amazed to see a tall cross burning fiercely on the hilltop to the north of the Kinrossie property. A few people claiming to have a closer view, said the figures around the cross wore hooded robes similar to the description of those worn by the Ku Klux Klan of the Southern States, but of this we are not sure. Kinrossie ^{43.} was vacant at that time and may have been the meeting place for whatever group existed. In some persons viewpoint it may all have been an adult prank. Little was ever said about it afterward." ^{44.}

The authoress has provided these details to add to the story: "In the case of our local organization" the K.K.K. was against "crime and indecency which our local citizens didn't know existed here. The local organization was begun in a room at the back of a pioneer Confectionery shop. . . . Our organization was said to be instituted by the Orange Lodge which was very strong here in the days of early settlement but has been extinct for several years." ^{45.}

In July of 1928 the Saskatchewan and Manitoba Klans would lose the skilled lecturer and organizer J.H. Hawkins. The Department of Immigration at Ottawa ordered his deportation no later than Friday, July 20, 1928. The publicly stated reason for his enforced departure was that "the man entered Canada as

a non-immigrant and remained without reporting for landing." 46. Having left, he was never able to obtain permission to re-enter Canada despite many attempts and letters, at least during the time under study.

During the latter half of October, 1928, The Manitoba Free Press produced a series of sensational exposés of the Klan meetings being held in Winnipeg. There, for all the world to see, was the message Winnipeg Klansmen were buying. Somehow a reporter had given all the right replies to the questions screening Klansmen and women at the entrance to an "invitation only" meeting. A disconcerted Grant found his audiences dwindling, although a hard-core of followers kept the Klan in existence in Winnipeg for at least three or more years to come.

In the story of the first breaching of a closed Klan meeting — that of Tuesday, October 16, 1928 in Norman hall, Sherbrook street — the reporter noted down all the interesting details any curiosity seeker would look for. But first he listed all the questions asked at the door to aid any other would-be 'crashers' of Klan meetings. As the meeting progressed he even included a description of little human peccadilloes such as the crashing to the floor of "a stout and heavy klansman" as his chair gave way. It all served to detract from the dignified image the Klan hoped to project.

Slashing attacks on the "vice, wantonnes,[sic] graft and corruption" to be found in Winnipeg, and on Catholics, Jews, Negroes, Japanese, and the press made up the main body of the speech delivered by D.C. Grant. Grant emphasized that the Canadian Klan was "solely a 'Canadian' organization." It was now apparent, however, that the aims and objects of the groups in the U.S.A. and Canada were different only to the degree that an appeal to British traditions had replaced the appeal to American traditions. Otherwise the 'anti-'s' and the morally upright and law-abiding tones were identical. Grant's lament that the press "will write columns and columns about a Knights of Columbus meeting, but never a word about a Ku Klux Klan meeting" must have come back to haunt him in the days and weeks ahead. 47.

The Manitoba Free Press was keeping its 'undercover' reporter busy, for on Saturday, October 20th and again on Tuesday, October 23rd, 1928, front-page headlines and columns of print heralded the successful reporting of yet other meetings. While the Tuesday (16th) night meeting had been attended by "more than 150 persons, of whom about 30 were women," 48. a few nights later, on

Friday evening (19th), at what was billed as a "public meeting", only "45--35 men and ten women" showed up at Berry hall, Norwood. ^{49.} Publicity hadn't hurt Grant's cause in East Kildonan though, for "175 persons" showed up at "Scottish hall, Melrose avenue, East Kildonan" the following Monday evening (22nd). ^{50.}

During the "public" meeting on Friday evening (19th), D.C. Grant attacked conditions of vice in St. Boniface. After entertaining the meeting for some time in this vein, he read the list of Klan principles. Anyone who could not agree with them was ordered to leave the meeting, along with a reporter who was ostensibly representing the Manitoba Free Press. The reporter and a few others duly made their exit. Reporting of the meeting was not interrupted, however. And Grant's criticism of St. Boniface and all manifestations of Catholicism therein continued. "New Canadians" such as "Poles and Germans" were described as less than patriotic, and again the listing of the attractions and principles of the Klan was occasion for assailing Catholics, Jews, Negroes, and the moral problems and vice abounding in Winnipeg. The meeting concluded with a resounding declaration of the Klan's reverence for all things British. ^{51.}

By the time the third report of the contents of a Klan meeting had been produced for the M.F.P., it sounded as if Grant was in the grooves of a badly stuck record. The Klan principles were trotted out again and all well illustrated with fulminations against the Roman Catholic Church, Jews, 'aliens', vice, and the press --this time, and most explicitly -- the Manitoba Free Press. Our intrepid reporter continued to poke fun at the whole proceedings by meticulously noting the foibles of the participants. From Grant's word on how assiduously the Klan defended "Freedom of Speech" one listener had the idea that he might raise a question. Grant not only refused an answer in public but twice ordered the man to sit down and finally threatened him with ejection from the meeting. ^{52.}

During this period in which it launched its greatest campaign against the Klan, the Manitoba Free Press had also made a forum of its pages for the reactions of the community to the Klan. Letters poured in, elements in the community under vicious attack by the Klan clamoured to be heard, and incredulous citizens added their comment. Let us have a sampling.

R.B. Graham, K.C. expressed himself as of the opinion that Grant had been merely stirring people up to get their money. Alderman J. Blumberg wondered aloud "Can Winnipeg really be in the Dominion of Canada" and predicted that

before the Klan finished cleaning up "some of the individuals [Klansmen, that is] will be cleaned out themselves." 53.

The editor of the M.F.P. summed up the Klan's message as "religious and racial animosity and intolerance" to which he was sure "the great majority of people will feel . . . an aversion." 54.

Mgr. Jubinville, a St. Boniface priest, branded Daniel C. Grant "as a coward and an unreliable authority, who should be taken care of by the proper authorities." He further stated: "The present activities of the Ku Klux Klan are a deliberate attempt to stir up trouble among the Roman Catholics and Protestants. . . . It looks like a scheme to raise a little 'easy' money." 55. And Thomas Gagnon, chief of police, City of St. Boniface, "declared that there was nothing in St. Boniface to attract the Klan;" 56. sentiments echoed a few days later by Alderman George C. McLean. 57.

John Queen and Robert Durward of the Independent Labour Party "deplored" the Klan's activities and its attacks on the varied ethnic and religious groups in the population. They believed that "the threat that the K.K.K. is going to take the law into its own hands . . . should receive the immediate attention of the attorney-general of this province.." 58.

From Saskatchewan came a letter from a United Church minister telling how the "high pretensions and divisive tactics" of the Klan in that province had stirred up unprecedented "bitterness and hate among neighbors." 59.

And from Ottawa the Department of Immigration bore down on Grant to substantiate his charges, uttered at the October 16th meeting, that :

The government is taking our money . . . to bring French-Canadians, the most disloyal and unpatriotic people in the Dominion, back from the United States, and are giving them free farms in the west, and at Quebec City, priests employed by the government as immigration authorities, are daily rejecting men who seek admittance to this country for the simple reason that they are not Catholics." 60.

Let it not be said that the Klan was without supporters. Evangelist E.C. Steinberg, of St. Paul, Minnesota, spoke "from the pulpit in the Apostolic Temple, Hargrave street and Notre Dame avenue "about the Klan's announced intentions of cleaning up "vice, wantonness, graft, and corruption" in Winnipeg. He "strongly commended" such intentions "and declared that the Klan had 'pluck and courage.'" 61.

It appears that during this time the Klan may have been up to another of its ruses -- organizing under a new name which wouldn't bear all the unsavoury connotations of the K.K.K. name. The Weekly News reported a new organization on the Winnipeg scene, "the Four Leaf Clover League of Canada," The writer wonders aloud about the fact that this League's aims and objects sound "very like the aims and objects of the Ku Klux Klan." 62.

Aided no doubt by all the free publicity, the Klan kept expanding and now made its appearance in Selkirk. On October 25th, 1928, a public Klan meeting was held by D.C. Grant "so that all our citizens may have the opportunity of getting first hand information." 63.

Meanwhile a well-known Winnipeg "rationalist" lecturer, Mr. Marshall J. Gauvin, was preparing for a speaking engagement during which he had promised to reveal the story of the Klan. With this in mind, he attended a public Klan meeting held in Magee Hall in St. James on Thursday evening, November 1, 1928, to hear and question the speaker, Mr. D.C. Grant. 64.

Mr. Gauvin recalls that long-ago evening for us. There was a "small group" in attendance, he says. "The speech dealt largely with Roman Catholicism, which was strongly opposed. Its purpose was to give rise to an anti-Catholic movement in Manitoba.. As if to be prepared for possible trouble, the speaker was guarded by two or three hefty fellows. There was no disturbance. . . . I was the only person present who asked questions or made comments after the address. I mentioned Sir Wilfrid Laurier as an able and honored Catholic statesman, and expressed the view that Canadians generally had no fear of Catholicism politically or otherwise." 65.

The following Sunday afternoon, November 4, 1928, the Metropolitan Theatre was host to an overflow crowd as Mr. Gauvin spoke on "The Ku Klux Klan: A Power for Good or a Mischief Maker?" Mr. Gauvin began by clearing away any misconceptions his listeners may have had about the Klan's oft stated remark that the Klan in Canada had no connexion with that in the U.S.A. The only differences were a few new slants on their propaganda and the pocketing of all fees obtained in Canada by the organizers within Canada. A vivid and accurate detailing of the Klan's dubious history in the U.S.A. made up the main body of the lecture. In conclusion Mr. Gauvin dealt with "the Klan in Canada" and its proclaimed principles. His message can best be summed up in

these words:

The Klan breeds hatred and intolerance. Bigotry is the very breath of its life. Because of this, and because of what it has done in the United States, I regard it as a dreadful menace to our social welfare. And if I could believe that Grant is going to be successful in building up a strong organization of Klansmen in Manitoba, I would regard him as the most dangerous man now in our midst. . . . It costs you \$ 13 dollars to join an organization whose goal can be nothing else than strife between you and your neighbor. And the man who does that sort of thing dares to call himself a patriot. . . . Canada needs, not the Ku Klux Klan but education and the strengthening of the ties that bind together our national life." 66.

Mr. Gauvin estimates that there were "1800 listeners" in the theatre that afternoon. "Interest in the Klan was running high" at that particular time, he says. 67.

Ku Klux Klan organizers had first arrived in The Pas in the last days of October, 1928, and had been busily spreading about "calling cards" outlining the aims and principles of the organization. Would-be Klansmen were provided with Winnipeg and Regina addresses to contact if interested. Klansmen had also been approaching citizens "to aid in organization work." 68. By the time D.C. Grant arrived in mid-December a local den may have been operating.

We next meet D.C. Grant in The Pas. Here he teamed up with other organizers "from Ontario, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba" to stir things up. 69. In those days The Pas was very much a frontier town and when men came in from 'the bush' from prospecting, mining, trapping and hunting, etc., the town was apt to get a little lively. Undoubtedly Grant could find many targets for his moral and "clean up" crusades.

The meeting Grant called for Sunday afternoon, December 9th, 1928, drew a capacity crowd. He proceeded to give "a short sketch of the history of the Klan" and went on to tell his hearers "that every criminal, gambler, bootlegger, in fact everyone against the law was also against the Klan." He told how the Klan "had been pleaded with to come" to The Pas. And he followed this up with his usual projection of Klan principles, aims and objects cast as usual in terms of anti-Catholic, anti-Oriental and anti-immigrant attacks. In conclusion "Mr. Grant had a lot to say about the vice in the town and what they were going to do to clean it up." 70.

The reporter who covered the meeting tells us that after the meeting he heard many people remark that while they "were heartily glad to see some attempt being made to clean up the town" they "resented the attack on other nationalities and creeds." 71.

The editor of the paper which had reported on Grant's meeting admitted that things had "been going from bad to worse" in The Pas, so much so that the town council had called in "the Provincial Police to help clean up." Help had promptly arrived and for days the court dockets had been overflowing with ladies 'of a certain repute', gamblers, bootleggers, etc., who hadn't taken a sudden enough vacation. The editor denies that the Klan was in any way responsible for this activity. If they wanted to help keep the town 'clean' after the Police were through, the editor thought they [the Klan] would be welcome. If they were there merely as "agitators . . . to stir up racial and religious feeling" then he wished them a speedy demise. 72.

Back in Winnipeg before a grand total of 23 people in Norman hall, Grant gave a greatly exaggerated account of his activities in The Pas. He told his audience "about the horrible conditions existing in that mining centre. . . . According to his own admission he had been stirring things up good and plenty. . . . Mr. Grant modestly pointed out, in numerous illustrations, that since he had been there things had taken a considerable turn for the better." Then he was off once more on his usual spiel about the sins of the Catholics, the Dominion immigration office, 'aliens', Jews, etc. 73.

"On January 9-10, 1929 Klansmen gathered at Saskatoon for the 'Second Annual Klonvocation of the Knights of the KKK.' . . . Delegates from. . . five affiliated locals in Manitoba were expected at the Convention." 74. "A later report stated that Klansmen came 'from The Pas. . . [to] Winnipeg. . . , they have gathered together to discuss the business of the past year and prepare their programme for 1929.'" 75.

The editor of The Neepawa Press was a sharp observer of all that went on about town. Anyone reading his "Comment" throughout the latter half of 1928 would observe that he was keeping close watch on the doings of the Klan and that he wasn't pleased with what he knew of them. On Friday, August 3, 1928, he hinted that Klan organizers had been sounding out the district. But at no time did he suggest that an organization was set up in the Neepawa area. Perhaps the sure knowledge that they would be the immediate target of Mr.

Dunlop's barbed pen was an effective deterrent to those interested in the Klan. Certainly the fact that a group of Neepawa's leading Orangemen had attended a Ku Klux Klan meeting while taking part in a huge Orange celebration at Brandon on July 12th, 1929, was snappily recorded for all the newspaper's readers to pore over. 76.

W. Calderwood says that "There is evidence that D.C. Grant continued to organize in Manitoba. . . perhaps into the early 1930's, for the Winnipeg Klan passed a resolution protesting bilingualism in January, 1930." 77.

"Klansmen gathered in Regina on Jan. 9-10, 1930, for the organization's third annual convention. . . .The affair was held in secret . . .attended by 'delegates and visitors from all corners of Manitoba and Saskatchewan." 78. As Calderwood states, "This appears to have been the last annual convention of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan. . . .Its chief organizers, it seems, left for greener fields in other provinces. . . .Puckering, Grant and Wright headed east to Manitoba." 79.

It is interesting that Manitoba should have presented a "greener field" in 1930 when the grip of the Great Depression was so relentlessly upon the land. But it does confirm the rumours and information which point up that the Klan was going strongest in Southern and South-Western Manitoba from 1928 on into the early '30's. 1928, the most prosperous year of the decade, would have provided the monetary resources to support the Klan. And perhaps as the Depression so inexorably settled upon the land the Klan provided some relief through its parades, midnight ceremonies and cross burnings, secret and questionable midnight activities and its scapegoats. The poverty into which many a bewildered family was rapidly descending, coupled with the Klan's total inability to alleviate conditions in any way, eventually defeated the Klan.

It was in the years from 1928 and on into the first few years of the 1930's that the Klan operated a widespread network of lodge dens throughout the Anglo-Celtic dominated regions in the south and south-west of the province. We have at least a partial picture of Klan activities in one small South-central town in Manitoba. The town referred to was composed mainly of British stock, with some Belgian and a few Franco-Manitobain families in residence in the town and district in 1928.

Organizers, mostly "from the United States. . . appeared suddenly in the town. . . and disappeared the same way." They were believed to have arrived by train. While these Klansmen were in town "some of these men were around in the daytime, but they weren't dressed up then. They mixed with people around town during the day. They came out each evening or night while they were there and paraded around town 'hollering'!" [This refers to the dress parades staged by these Klansmen during which they appeared in full regalia, carrying banners, and singing --a favourite song being "Onward Christian Soldiers" -- and trying to impress the population]. Only the Klan organizers went "on the nightly tours around town though;" no recruits joined them. They " paraded 8 in a group. Their robes were mainly white, their faces covered and hoods on their heads." The Klansmen kept up this sort of activity for " 4 or 5 days" and then disappeared. ⁸⁰. This report on the Klan probably records their initial recruiting drive in the town.

The Klan obviously had some recruiting success in this district as they reappeared intermittently for some time to come.

We are told that "the K.K.K. burned an effigy" (of the Pope?) in this town one night. It is said that one of the General Store owners was a Roman Catholic, a Belgian, and the effigy was "burned in the vicinity of the store." ⁸¹. [This was a well-worn Klan tactic designed to dissuade all good Protestants from further dealings with that particular business establishment.] Several reports of cross burnings in the vicinity of this town have been reported. One correspondent relates: The most horrible thing they did was -- they went up to our Cemetery north of town and burned the big Cross that meant so much to the Cemetery..You can imagine the fear everyone would feel, and we wondered what would happen next." ⁸². Another report which may, or may not, concern the same evening's activity is given by local people who had gone out to watch what the Klan was up to. "They had watched from a distance when the K.K.K. had burned a fiery cross. . .near the school, and then burned one at the cemetery. They could not see whether it was in the cemetery or near it." The Klansmen taking part "had a number of cars and parked a mile east of town until the fire burned down. They drove away slowly, three cars at a time." These men had been clothed in "long white hoods with holes for the eyes." ⁸³.

The cemetery referred to here is north of the town on the top of a low hill, and a blazing cross there would have made a spectacular sight, easily

viewed by everyone in town and the area nearby. As for the cars arranged in threes, the explanation is that three is a cabalistic sign of the K.K.K.—referring to the three K's.

These same local people have said that anytime "they saw three cars go past they would be frightened" ⁸⁴. for they knew it signalled the presence of the Klan. Sometimes cars would come from many directions (but mainly from the east) and congregate at a prearranged corner. If the cars had been locally owned they would most certainly have been recognized. However, a time-honoured Klan stratagem was for dens some distance away to provide manpower for the Klan's midnight adventures so that suspicion would not fall on local members. These local Klansmen would be making certain that their innocent appearance among their fellow townsmen was being noted while the Klan 'ceremonies' were progressing.

In addition to the description of the Klan wearing white in this town, there is one which says that "they wore black gowns and head gear, also face covered." ⁸⁵. (Visitors? Officials? Or just the true colours of the local den? -- Each is a possibility.) The person giving that description recalls that the Klan's campaigns "were not really racial nor religious but against people who had violated their high principles of conduct." ⁸⁶.

"Everyone was so frightened and believe me we kept close at home day and night. [When the Klan was about, that is.] We never knew just what would happen next." ⁸⁷. This is not a pretty picture. The fear oozing from these words still holds former witnesses, victims, and Klansmen themselves, silent in 1974.

In July of 1931 we hear once again from the Klan operating out of Selkirk. Klansmen there were in the process of lighting a fiery cross on the banks of the Red river when they were interrupted by a man out "cruising in his launch on the Red river." The boatman shone his flashlight on the river bank and "apparently frightened away the party in charge of the cross." An investigation showed only that the Klansmen were travelling by car and that they had used a fuse to light their cross. ⁸⁸.

One final notice appears in the Manitoba Free Press concerning Klan activities. At the midnight hour on Remembrance Day, 1931, six "members of Klan No. 49, Ku Klux Klan, . . .hooded and robed in ghostly white," proceeded "to the Cenotaph on the Mall and laid at the foot of the plinth a cross of poppies. . . .Three took their positions on the south side and three on the

north side. With mysterious arm movements, and muttered incantations, they laid their tribute to the honoured dead of Winnipeg on the north side of the stately column. Then returning to their waiting motorcars, they sped swiftly away into the darkness of the night." 89.

The newspapers fall silent on the Klan in Manitoba. The grey world of the '30's had triumphed.

Why anyone should have wanted to join the Ku Klux Klan in Manitoba is not easily divined. Books, newspapers, radio, and the ever-popular telephone could have provided any interested person with a surfeit of information on the impact that the Klan had made on the United States, replete with scandal and depraved deeds. And the major newspapers certainly kept their readers informed of Klan 'errors' in Ontario and of the flight of Klan coinage from Saskatchewan. Yet it was after the fall of the Klan from 'glory' in the U.S.A., after repeated reports of Klan mischief elsewhere in the Dominion and after the Saskatchewan scandals that Manitobans really got on the Klan bandwagon. Postwar hysteria had long since died down, the post-war economic slump was over, and Manitoba was enjoying the most prosperous days many a senior citizen can ever recall.

The traditional prejudices (and those roused by the War) latent in Protestant communities were, of course, strongly appealed to by the Klan. Ultra-Protestant militants had a habit of translating pro-Protestantism into anti-Roman Catholic, anti-Jewish, and anti-'foreigner' sentiments. And these militants, who of course were also strong pillars of their local Protestant churches and perhaps of the local Orange lodge, were the ones who most strongly favoured the Klan's message.

Another explanation, equally valid, is that despite all the wickedness which had been attributed to the Klan there still clung to its image an aura of mystery and excitement. To a certain type of personality, faced with the less than heroic realities of day-to-day existence in the cities and towns and villages scattered over the prairie, the Klan promised brief and alluring escape. We shall let that seasoned observer of the human condition in Manitoba, Mr. Alex Dunlop, editor of The Neepawa Free Press, give his summation ^{as to} of why certain of his fellow men joined the Klan:

When the tinsel uniform of the lodge member is exchanged for the ghostly and sinister uniform of [the Klan]. . .Here is the magnifying of the ego in the easiest way, a magnifying that is by way of compensation for a minifying in ordinary life. One does not find these terrorizing orders officered by distinguished scientists. . . .One finds them led by men who, in ordinary life, have the basic craving for distinction; but who, by mediocrity of their powers, are able to achieve distinction only by facing away from realities and building up a fabricated structure of evil and hatred and infantile retribution. 90.

But there may have been a good deal of pro-Klan talk and literature circulated through the province. Protestants who wished to believe only this side of the picture may have been convinced that the sources of such statements were reliable. Certain that the Klan was 'a good thing', it may have taken association with the Klan itself to teach them otherwise. Some restless spirits would revel in the experience and the exploits, but a good many others, respected and patriotic citizens, would feel foolish at being duped by slick salesmen and misled by those they had trusted or imitated.

The reasons put forth here for the Klan's attraction are not mutually exclusive. Rather they are so intertwined that a Klansman may have joined for one or all of these reasons. Or he may have joined simply because his friends were joining and he didn't want to be left out of anything new in town.

A K.K.K. GLOSSARY

District or Domain	-One geographical area within a Realm.
Exalted (or Grand) Cyclops	-President of a Klan Klavern, head of a local Klan chapter, den leader.
Furies	-The 7 officers of a Klonverse.
Genii	-The 10 officials assisting the Grand Wizard.
Ghouls	-The members in the ranks, not holding office.
Grand (or Giant) Dragon	-Head of a chartered Realm.
Grand Goblin	-Head of the 'domain' or district salesman.
Grand Scribe	-The secretary.
Great Titan	-President of a district convention (Klonverse).
Grand Turk	-The marshall or master of ceremonies; he greeted and questioned all candidates for admission.
Hydras	-The 8 officials to assist a Grand Dragon.
Imperial Klaliff	-Vice-President of the Invisible Empire.
Imperial Kligrapp	*Secretary of the Invisible Empire.
Imperial Kloncilium	-Supreme executive council of the Klan; the Klonvocation's advisory group.
Imperial Wizard	-President of the Invisible Empire; supreme ruler of the Klan.
Invisible Empire	-The total territory of a Klan's operations. The term could also refer to the whole membership of the Klan. By joining the Klan, one became a "citizen" of the Invisible Empire.
Kamelia	-The women's Klan organization, women of the K.K.K.
King Kleagle	-Chief recruiter and head organizer for the Klan in one province, or one unorganized "Realm". The provincial sales-manager.
Klabee	-Klan treasurer.
Kladd	-Music conductor.
Klaliff	-Vice-president at different Klan organizational levels.

Klancraft	-Practices and beliefs of the Klan; the concepts and relationships involved in Klan membership.
Klanton	-The territorial jurisdiction of a Klavern.
Klavern or Den	-Klan local; the indoor meeting place of a local Klan den.
Kleagle	-Paid organizer, sales manager and recruiter for the Klan; the 'house-to-house' solicitor or legwork man.
Klectoken	-The initiation fee paid by new members upon joining the Klan.
Kligrapp	Klan -Secretary at different organizational levels.
Klode	-A Klan song, for example, the "Kloxology."
Klokann	-The executive committee of a local Klan. A 3-member board of investigators, auditors, and advisors, each called a Klokkan.
Klokard	-A teacher or lecturer.
Klonkave	-Meetings of the local Klavern or Den.
Klonsel	-Supreme legal counsel for the K.K.K.
Klonverse	-A district convention.
Klonvocation (Imperial)	-General Assembly; National Convention of the Klan.
Klorago	-An Inner Guard.
Kloran	-The Klan 'bible'; the ritual book used in Klan initiations and for the opening and closing of meetings.
Klorero	-A provincial convention.
Kludd	-Official chaplain of the Klan.
Ku Klux Klan	- Ku Klux from <u>Kuklos</u> , the Greek word for "band" or "circle"; Klan from Clan.
Lictors or Klexter	-The outer guards.
Night Hawk	-Courier, messenger; the Klansman in charge of candidates.
Night Riders	-The flogging and burning (etc.) division of the Order.

The Prescript

-A formal statement of the basic principles of the Reconstruction K.K.K. — the sacred book of the 'old' Order.

The Klansman

-The official publication of the Saskatchewan Klan, produced in Regina and edited and published by Chas. H. Ellis, Imperial Kligrapp of the Saskatchewan Ku Klux Klan.

Realm

-A Province of Canada.

Terrors

-Station Guards.

Footnotes

1-John Moffatt Mecklin, The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1924), p. 68.

2-Stanley F. Horn, Invisible Empire (Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1969 (1939)), p. 19.

3- Ibid, p. 408. From the Revised and Amended Prescript of the Order of the K.K.K., Horn quotes these three Edicts from Article X.

#4- His [a Klansman's] obligation of secrecy shall be as binding upon him after expulsion as before, and for any revelation made by him thereafter, he shall be held accountable in the same manner as if he were a member.

#9- The most profound and rigid secrecy concerning any and everything that relates to the Order, shall at all times be maintained.

#10- Any member who shall reveal or betray the secrets of this Order, shall suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

4- A Correspondent, "K.K.K. — The White Terror of America," The New Statesman (London), V. XVIII No. 444 (Saturday, October 15, 1921), p. 40.

5- "Report 1,000 in New Zealand Klan," New York Times, Tuesday, August 28, 1923, p. 19 c. 2.

6- "Mexico City Editor Seized", Ibid, p. 19 c. 3.

7- "Ku Kluxism in England," One Big Union Bulletin (Winnipeg), Thursday, December 20th, 1923, p. 5.

8- "Sir Austen Unaware of Ku Klux Klan," The Globe (Toronto), Tuesday, March 13, 1928, p. 1.

9- "The Ku Klux Klan in Germany," The Living Age (Concord, N.H.), V. 327, No. 4241 (October 17, 1925), p. 128.

10- "Klan Reported in Lithuania, Aiming at Catholic Church," New York Times, Sunday, July 15, 1928, Secs. II & III, p. 2 c. 4.

11- Editorial, "Canadian Province Turns to the Klan," New York Times, Sunday, July 8, 1928, Sec. III, p. 7.

12- Editorial, Farmer's Advocate and Home Journal, October 19, 1921.

13- "Canada's 'Keep-Out' to Klanism," The Literary Digest (New York), V. LXXVI (February 3, 1923), p. 21, quoting from The Globe and the Montreal Gazette.

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Wednesday, October 3, 1923, p. 13.

16- "War is Proklaimed by Lokal Kops on all Hooded Rivals," Ibid,
December 6, 1924.

17- "Town Topics," The Winnipeg Mirror, February 6th, 1926, p.1.

18- "Guards on Quebec Church," New York Times, February 16, 1923, p. 2 c. 5.

19- The Globe, See: June 12, 22, 23, & 29, 1926 and October 15 & 16, 1926.

20- Evelyn Wrench, "The English-Speaking World," The Spectator (London),
No. 4,943 (Saturday, March 24, 1923), p. 506.

21- Editorial, "The Ku Klux Comes to Winnipeg," One Big Union Bulletin,
Thursday, October 4th, 1923, p. 4.

22- Editorial, "Is the Klan Coming?", Ibid, Thursday, August 21, 1924, p. 4.

23- Ibid.

24- Editorial, "The Klan for Canada," Ibid, Thursday, December 25, 1924, p. 4.

25- Editorial, "The Klan of God", Ibid, Thursday, February 19th, 1925, p. 4.

26- "Ku KluxKlan Here and Seeks Charter," The Globe, Tuesday, February 17, 1925, p.11.

27- Gardiner Papers, p. 12727, as quoted in William Calderwood, The Rise
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of Saskatchewan, Regina, 1968), p. 19. Hereafter cited The Klan in Sask.

28- Official Minutes of Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Toronto, March 16, 1925,
Gardiner Papers, p. 12720, as quoted in Ibid.

29- The Canada Year Book, 1927-28 (Ottawa: 1928).

30- "Editorial Notes," The Weekly News, Thursday, December 24, 1925, p. 2.

31- "Town Topics," The Winnipeg Mirror, February 6th, 1926, p. 1.

32- As translated from "Le Ku Klux Klan à Winnipeg," La Liberté,
25 août, 1926, p. 10.

33- Letters to the Editor, The Winnipeg Mirror, August 28th, 1926, p. 7.
Letter from J.J. Maloney to the Editor.

34- Moose Jaw Evening Times, June 8, 1927 as quoted in Calderwood, The Klan in Sask., p. 37.

35- Correspondence to the author.

36- From: Statement issued by J.W. Rosborough, Imperial Wizard Invisible Empire Knights, of the Ku Klux Klan, Regina, Sask., May 8, 1928. Transcript contained in the Winnipeg Free Press library files.

37- The Empire-Advance, Virden, Tuesday, April 24, 1928, p. 2.

38- "Small Crowd Attend Ku Klux Klan Meeting," Ibid, Tuesday, May 1, 1928, p.8.

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41- "Ku Klux Klan Starts Winnipeg Organization," M.F.P., Saturday, June 2, 1928, p. 7.

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50- "Grant Attacks Jews, Church of Rome and Manitoba Free Press," M.F.P., Tuesday, October 23, 1928, p. 1.

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- 52- M.F.P., Tuesday, October 23, 1928, pp. 1 & 2.
- 53- "Removal of Police Chief and Inspector Eddie is Demand of Ku Klux Klan," M.F.P., Thursday, October 18, 1928, p. 5.
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- 55- "Ku Klux Klan Organizer is Regarded as Coward by St. Boniface Priest," M.F.P., Friday, October 19, 1928, p. 12.
- 56- Ibid.
- 57- "Klan To Be Discussed by Aldermen Tonight," M.F.P., Monday, October 22, 1928.
- 58- "Labor Resents Talk of Klan Organizer," M.F.P., Saturday, October 20, 1928, p.7.
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- 60- "Will Compel Grant to Substantiate Charges," M.F.P., Monday, October 22, 1928.
- 61- "Evangelist Commends Work of Ku Klux Klan," Ibid.
- 62- "The Man on the Street," The Weekly News, Friday, October 26, 1928, p. 1.
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- 69- "Grant Says Ku Klux Klan Determined to be Powerful In Pas," M.F.P., Wednesday, December 19, 1928.
- 70- "Ku Klux Klan Draw Big Crowd," The Pas Herald and Mining News, Friday, December 14th, 1928.
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- 72- Editorial, "The Klan Is Here," Ibid.
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 - 74- Regina Daily Star, Jan. 2, 1929, as quoted in Calderwood, The Klan in Sask., p. 162.
 - 75- The Klansman, Feb., 1929, Gardiner Papers, p. 12939, as quoted in Ibid.
 - 76- News Item, Neepawa Press, July 16, 1929.
 - 77- The Klansman, Feb., 1929, Gardiner Papers, 12939; as quoted in Calderwood, The Klan in Sask. p. 22.
 - 78- Regina Leader, Jan. 18, 1930, as quoted in Ibid., p. 263.
 - 79- Calderwood, The Klan in Sask., p. 265.
 - 80- From a private interview held by the author, Tuesday, August 8, 1972.
 - 81- Ibid.
 - 82- In private correspondence to the author, Saturday, 20th November, 1971.
 - 83- Ibid., December 12th, 1971.
 - 84- Ibid., November 24th, 1971.
 - 85- Ibid., Saturday, 20th November, 1971.
 - 86- Ibid., November 15th, 1971.
 - 87- Ibid., Saturday, 20th November, 1971.
 - 88- "Attempt to Set up Fiery Cross Fails," M.F.P., July 13, 1931.
 - 89- "Ku Klux Klan Pays Tribute to Fallen," M.F.P., November 12, 1931.
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